

In Kapitel V (Commemoration) widmet sich der Autor der Entstehung und Wirkungsweise des Märtyrerkultes, der sich u. a. in der Schaffung von „Revolutionären Friedhöfen“ widerspiegelte. Hung weist daraufhin, dass der Mythos und das Zelebrieren des Heldentodes in Revolution und Bürgerkrieg dazu dienten, die Unsterblichkeit der Kommunistischen Partei zu konstruieren. Darüber hinaus löste der Märtyrerkult den traditionellen Ahnenkult des Kaiserreiches ab. Unklar bleibt an dieser Stelle, wie sich der Märtyrerkult zu dem Personenkult um Mao positionierte. Insgesamt liefert Hung eine facettenreiche Studie, allerdings fällt das Schlusskapitel enttäuschend aus. Hier hätten die wichtigsten Thesen pointierter zusammengeführt werden müssen. Stattdessen entsteht der Eindruck, dass die Argumentationslinien des Autors nebeneinander verlaufen und nicht in eine Synthese münden. Irritierend wirkt der Titel des Buches, denn in „Mao's New World“ fehlt der interpretatorische Bezug auf den Kult um Mao, der metaphorisch als „Roter Kaiser“ titulierte und einen prägenden, ja dominanten Einfluss auf die politische Kultur hatte. Zudem stellt sich auch die weiterführende Frage, inwiefern sich das in der Architektur der Hauptstadt widerspiegelnde Zelebrieren der sozialistischen Nation in den Städten der Peripherie auswirkte.

**Gary Haq / Alistair Paul: Environmentalism since 1945, Routledge: London, 2012, 126 S.**

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“Over the past fifty years there has been an unprecedented growth in public concern for the environment” (p. 5). It is the growth of this environmental consciousness and the major events attached to it which are the focus of Gary Haq's and Alistair Paul's introduction to “Environmentalism since 1945”. The history of environmentalism is told through five areas: the environmental movement, environmental governance, science, economics and popular culture. This allows the authors to highlight “a different aspect of environmentalism” (p. 2.) in each chapter. Most of the book's many references to national events are taken from the USA and UK since “[m]any of the oldest and most powerful campaign groups in the environmental movement were first formed or gained popular support in the USA and UK” (p. 3).

The first substantive chapter (chap. 2) is dedicated to the birth and development of the environmental movement. It retraces its evolution from a single issue, nature conservation, social movement to a “global anti-consumerism counterculture”. (p. 24) In fact, many environmental organisations were born in the 1960s and 1970s, in a time of the general uprising by young people against the practices of the establish-

ment. The authors conclude the chapter by remembering the reader that the environmental movement failed to set environmental concerns as a long-term issue in the media, referring to the wide-spread expression of the 'issue-oriented cycle' coined by A. Downs (1972).

Titled "global environmental governance", chapter 3 gives an account of the uptake of environmental issues in international politics and recalls the process of the founding of (inter)national institutions defending the environmental cause. Starting in the late 1960s with the Biosphere Conference organised by the UNESCO in Paris in 1968, the report goes on to stress the importance of the 1972 UN conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm, which led to the creation of the UNEP. It then moves on to the instauration of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) which, in 1987, published the report "Our common future", also referred to as the Brundtland report after its chair, Norwegian Prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, which defines the notion of sustainable development. The Rio Earth Summit in 1992, which saw the birth of the Agenda 21 and the Commission of Sustainable Development (CSD) as well as its follow-up conferences (Rio +5, Rio +10) are also presented. The chapter closes with a section about the multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) as a mechanism for international cooperation in the context of global environmental governance.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the ambiguous relationship between science and the environment. Even as science has helped to identify environmental problems and has come up with solutions to them (i.e. con-

tributing to nature conservation), it has also developed innovations like nuclear energy and genetically modified food, thereby driving environmental degradation. (p.57) Beside this equivocal link between science and the environment, science has played a major part in backing environmental arguments. Both environmentalists and their opponents have expected science to produce irrefutable facts to support their point of view. However, the "lack of conclusive scientific evidence" (p. 49) means that either side can use scientific results to strengthen its position. Furthermore, Haq and Paul mention events where confidence in scientific results was badly damaged due to methodological errors or leaked internal debates. As examples, the authors recall Greenpeace's mistake in measuring remaining oil levels on the British oil platform Brent Spar (1995), attempts to suppress climate change sceptical opinions in an IPCC's report (1995) as well as the leaked emails of the Climatic Research Unit (CRU) at the University of East Anglia (2009). Another section gives an account of the radical ecology movement, i.e. a biocentric approach that puts "nature first, humanity second" (p. 46).

Chapter 5 presents works that have questioned the strong focus by economists on growth and have highlighted the scarcity of natural resources. The Club of Rome's "Limits to Growth" (published in 1972) is mentioned as well as ideas contesting GDP as being a representative measure of a nation's wealth. Apart from this school of thought criticising the capitalist approach, the authors also present works that have tried to put a value to nature, thereby integrating the environmental impact of industrial production in the form of pollu-

tion or resource use into existing economic models. Haq and Paul also present the idea of 'decoupling' economic growth from environmental deterioration (OECD 2002) (p. 73) and mention Tim Jackson's book "Prosperity without growth" which had an important impact on the public discourse in the UK. The authors conclude that, to date, "a comprehensive theory" for an environmentally friendly economic model is still absent: "Environmentalism is not linked to a mature, convincing political economy that rivals Marxism or challenges the classical liberal theory of Smith and Ricardo" (p. 73).

The sixth chapter examines the advancement of green issues in popular culture. Compared to war time, the post-war period is seen as a step backwards for environmentalism. If in the 1940s re-use was an everyday practice, the 1950s introduced a consumer culture stimulated by an advertising industry that made luxuries seem necessities (p. 76). The first photograph of planet Earth from space (called "Earthrise") published in 1968 however made people more conscious about the beauty and vulnerability of our planet. This gave way to the rise of the green consumer in the 1980s, resulting both in a growing interest in green products and a boycott of non-environmentally friendly goods. The development of ecolabels (the EU introduced its first ecolabel in 1992) followed. Another sign of the mainstreaming of environmental ideas in popular culture was an increased involvement of celebrities in defending the environmental cause. In 1985, the Live Aid concert, simultaneously held in the UK and USA, raised funds for the famine in Ethiopia (p. 84), but it is only since the 2000s that celebrity advo-

cacy has become more widespread, illustrated by a number of films highlighting climate change like Al Gore's "An inconvenient truth", "The day after tomorrow" or "the Age of Stupid". Apart from a more intensive coverage of environmental issues in the media, a changing terminology has contributed to keep the topic in the focus of attention. The words "green", "low carbon" or "ecological footprint" are only some examples of this phenomenon (p. 87 f.).

The authors also remind their readers of the 'value-action gap', which means that environmental consciousness does not automatically translate into environmentally friendly behaviour (p. 91). Furthermore, it is being argued that there is still confusion over what a green lifestyle ultimately means and what behaviour it encompasses (p. 91).

The last chapter looks at the future of environmentalism. It discusses the main challenges ahead, the central task being to form "a strong and effective environmental movement" (p. 94) which addresses issues such as population growth or climate change. Another challenge lies in clarifying the "role of technology" (p. 95), alongside combatting environmental scepticism. On the individual level, Haq and Paul stress the importance of individual actions: "Since almost all aspects of modern western lifestyles contribute to greenhouse gas emissions, it is necessary for the environmental movement to demonstrate that everyone can make a difference, whatever their personal, social or economic circumstances." (p. 89) As a result, "(w)inning hearts and minds" (p. 96) by speaking to people's values and identity is certainly one of the most needed and most difficult goals.

Finally, there is, according to the authors, a need for a new environmentalism: “A new form of environmentalism is required for a new age of global challenges” (p. 99). For the environmental movement, the authors see a potential force in a global network of grassroots groups.

What makes this introduction to environmentalism since World War II rather appealing, is its division into different aspects of environmentalism. Each chapter presents key discourses, schools of thought or trends in the respective area, thereby avoiding a merely chronological account of events. Each chapter, though, is built up chronologically. This spotlight-effect is easy to digest and allows the reader to pick the chapters he or she is most interested in, without losing an otherwise discernible red thread. However, this is also a potential weak point. Other than the idea of showing how environmental ideas spread in different parts of society, there is no connection between the chapters, and the thematic ordering may seem arbitrary.

One other weakness lies in the modular approach of the book, in which the reader may be irritated by repetitive references to the same facts and events appearing in different chapters – though, on the other hand, it may help the reader to remember key events.

The title “Environmentalism since 1945” is very generic, leaving the reader with different expectations. After reading the book, though, the title makes sense. It would have been appreciated if the authors would have also mentioned the development of environmentalism in countries other than the UK and the USA. It is, however, understandable that a choice had to be made for a concise introduction to the topic on

100 pages. For a German reader, the focus on examples from the UK and USA might be slightly disappointing, but he or she may be happy to know that the German green party is cited as “(t)he most successful European environment-focused political party” (p. 10).

Both authors work (Gary Haq) or have worked (Alistair Paul) at the Stockholm Environment Institute at the University of York. Unsurprisingly, the author’s view on environmentalism is positive. This book is, however, also critical of the environmental movement’s impact on the whole of society and sees its limitations. Affirmations like “The ability of the environmental movement to bring about change through targeted campaigns has been both a great strength and a weakness” (p. 24) illustrate this point. It is through the assessment of the challenges ahead that this intention of giving the reader a balanced evaluation comes forward best.

Having evaluated these five aspects of environmentalism, the question arises as to what the book does leave out.

A first observation is that there is a lack of a specific focus on the relationship between the media and the environment. If the role of the media in the environmental cause is touched upon in several chapters, there is no dedicated chapter about the impact the media has had in promoting environmentalism. Developing on the role of the media in environmentalism would hence be a new and important perspective.

Moreover, the book does not elaborate on how corporations have taken on green issues in the last 60 years. Also, it does not mention at all the role of education and how environmentalism has been taught in schools.

On the whole, it is a very user-friendly book. Summaries at the end of each chapter allow a time-constrained reader to get the gist of each chapter before reading it in its entirety. A few sentences of outlook identify future needs for action and research which are a real added value. A chronological overview at the beginning of the book serves as a reminder of key events. Notes have been deferred to the end of the book, making the text more readable, although it takes a short moment to find the right chapter and footnote number as note counts restart with every chapter. A two-page list of titles for further reading direct the reader to further study.

The book is rich in facts and thereby offers any reader, well-informed or new in the topic, added value. One learns for instance that “(t)he Quaker philosophy of bearing witness, demonstrating passive resistance by placing campaigners at the scene of environmental problems has been fundamental to Greenpeace campaigns ever since” (p. 12) the first trip of a ship its crew called Greenpeace, trying to stop nuclear tests at Amchitka Island by sailing into the test zone.

Therefore, the book is highly recommendable to any student of environmentalism, seeking to get a concise and fact-based overview of environmentalism since World War II. The importance of the topic is due to increase in the coming years, since: “What seems certain is that the whole of society will have to develop ways to respond to the profound effects that future global environmental change will have on our current way of life” (p. 99).

**Belinda Davis / Wilfried Mausbach / Martin Klimke / Carla MacDougall (Hrsg.): Changing the World, Changing Oneself. Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s (= Protest, Culture and Society Series, Bd. 3), New York: Berghahn Books, 2010, 334 S.**

**Martin Klimke / Jacco Pekelder / Joachim Scharloth (Hrsg.): Between Prague Spring and French May. Opposition and Revolt in Europe, 1960–1980 (= Protest, Culture and Society Series, Bd. 7), New York: Berghahn Books, 2011, 347 S.**

Reviewed by  
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In these two edited volumes in Berghahn’s “Protest, Culture and Society” series, the transnational – the non-governmental and ungovernable, the not-yet-global yet nation-transcending<sup>1</sup>, “the movements, flows, and circulation of people, practices, and ideas, and [...] their interaction, interpenetration, and entanglement”<sup>2</sup> – informs a collection of essays that range widely over geographic terrain, disciplinary boundaries, and several decades of post-war protest movements in the U.S. and Europe. That these essays range so widely while remaining firmly grounded in their particular contexts is a testament to the cohort of scholars from around the globe that assembled each volume as well as to the diligence of the contributors, them-